

MATTERS DECIDED UPON AT THE FIVE MINISTERS' CONFERENCE  
(Decided by the Cabinet Meeting on 16 August 1938)

CONTENTS

- No. 1 The Future Policy for Guiding the China Incident.
- No. 2 The Measures to be Taken in Case of Surrender of the Present Central Government of China.
- No. 3 Measures to be Taken in Case the Present Central Government of China Does Not Surrender.
- No. 4 The Policy to Guide the Establishment of a New Central Government of China. (Attached Sheet) The Outline for the Internal Guidance of the Chinese Government.
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- No. 6 The Special Commission on Chinese Affairs.  
Commentary on the Special Commission on Chinese Affairs.

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Commentary on the Special Commission on Chinese Affairs.

NO. 1 - THE FUTURE POLICY FOR GUIDING THE CHINA INCIDENT  
(Decided 24 June 1938)

1. We must concentrate our national power and direct it to the immediate settlement of the China Incident. All the policies at home and abroad shall be directed in conformity with the assumption that the object of the war shall generally be attained within this year.
2. There is no objection to accepting friendly mediation by third Powers, depending upon its conditions.

NO. 2 - THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN THE CASE OF SURRENDER  
OF THE PRESENT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA  
(Decided 8 July 1938)

1. The Policy

In case of surrender of the Central Government of China, Japan will regard it as one of the regimes and treat it according to the "Must be made to join the newly established Central Government of China" policy decided upon by the Imperial Conference.

2. The Outline

I Japan shall firmly adhere to the decided policy for the solution of the Incident and shall not try to adjust the general relations between Japan and China in negotiation with the present Central Government of China.

II In case the present Central Government of China surrenders and accepts the third condition, stated later, it shall either be considered as a friendly regime and will be permitted to join the newly established Central Government, or be made to establish another new central government in cooperation with various existing pro-Japanese regimes.

The merger with the newly established Central Government, or the establishment of a new central government shall be undertaken chiefly by the Chinese, the internal assistance to be given by Japan.

3. Conditions for the recognition of  
the Surrender of the Present Central Government of China

I The merger with or taking part in the establishment of the new Central Government of China.

II The change of title as well as the reorganization of the former National Government following the above mentioned measure.

III The abolition of anti-Japanese, pro-Communist policy and the adoption of pro-Japanese-Manchukuo and anti-Communist policy.

IV Retiring from public life of CHIANG Kai-shek.

#### 4. Suspension of Hostilities

The suspension of hostilities shall not be taken up unless we have satisfied ourselves with the facts of surrender of the present Central Government of China.

However, in the case of negotiating the cessation of hostilities, the conditions shall be considered separately.

#### NO. 3 - THE MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN THE CASE WHERE THE PRESENT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA DOES NOT SURRENDER (Decided 8 July 1938)

##### 1. The Policy

Japan shall control her national power more rigidly than ever before, and her whole strength in home administration, foreign relations, financial tactics and propaganda shall be concentrated upon bringing about the destruction or surrender of the present Central Government of China. At the same time, the various administrative measures necessary for a long term warfare shall be intensified in order to actually realize the wartime condition spiritually and materially.

##### 2. The Outline

##### I Measures to be taken before occupying strategic points.

(1) We must direct positive war operations without break, with the aim to occupy strategic points for controlling the general situation of China so as to cause the self-destruction of the present Central Government of China and their abandonment of fighting spirit, because of their repeated defeats and especially the loss of their midland.

(2) In accordance with the development of war operations, the pro-Japanese and anti-Comintern influences should be fostered through strengthening tactics upon administration, finance, foreign relations and thoughts. It should be aimed to break up the interior of the anti-Japanese influence and to bring about an atmosphere desirous for peace as well as the ruin of its financial and economic basis, so that the present Central Government of China might split and collapse, or at least be reduced to a more local regime at the earliest possible time.

The above mentioned policies shall be carried out not only by Japan herself but also by guidance of the various pro-Japanese regimes of China and others in the background.

(3) The various pro-Japanese regimes shall be enlarged and strengthened. They shall be also incorporated into one regime as early as possible. We should make it really worthy of the name of a Central

Chinese Government so that it may be inevitably recognized at home and abroad as the new government de facto which will replace the present Central Government of China. The recognition of the new Central Government of China by Japan depends solely upon the situation, but it must be done as soon as possible when the new Central Government has been completed in substance.

(4) While we will highly respect the rights and interests of the third powers, and avoid troubles with them, we should adopt powerful and straightforward measures to settle the Incident so that they may actually understand our policies toward China. Then they will be compelled to support our attitude in order to protect and increase their vested rights and interests, and consequently the present Central Government of China will be isolated.

II The measures to be taken after occupying the strategic points.

In case the present Central Government of China should not surrender even after we occupy the strategic points, we should not be impatient so as to resort to force to settle the Incident, but make efforts to enlarge and strengthen the new Central Government, and at the same time should attempt the downfall of the present Central Government of China chiefly by tactics, increasing pressure upon it by political, economic and ideological measures.

III The way for the practice of the above shall be planned and decided upon separately.

NO. 4 - THE GUIDING POLICY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE  
NEW CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF CHINA  
(Decided 15 July 1938)

1. The Policy

I The new Central Government of China shall not be confined to the mere party concerned, on the part of China, in settling the Incident, but shall be made the government of China, so that Japan and China will sweep away all the frictions in their past relationships and establish the foundation of a friendly relationship between them from a broad-minded viewpoint.

II Though the establishment of the new Central Government of China shall be undertaken mainly by the Chinese, it shall be internally assisted by Japan. The principle of the collaboration of individual local governments shall be adopted to their government form.

2. The Plan for the Establishment

I A Joint Commission shall be established as soon as possible through the cooperation between the Provisional Government and the Restoration Government, to be joined later by the Mongolian and Hsiang-Kiang Joint Commission. Then we should guide this regime so as to grow into a real central government by gradually absorbing various other influences or collaborating with them.



II The new Central Government shall not be established until after the fall of Hankow, with the CHIANG Kai-shek regime reduced to a mere local government or until the reformation of the present Central Government is brought about by CHIANG Kai-shek's retirement from public office.

III In case the split or reformation in the CHIANG Kai-shek regime does not take place even after the fall of Hankow, we should establish a new central government by putting existing governments together.

IV In case the CHIANG Kai-shek regime is broken up or reformed, and should a pro-Japanese government turn up, we would make it a factor of the central government system and proceed to set up a central government.

V It is expected that the date for our recognition of the new Central Government would be when the reformed (split) government as in Par. IV could take charge of the suspension of hostilities, or when the united government as in Par. III has grown to be a central government of real efficiency.

VI Adjustment of the relations between Japan and China in connection with our control of the establishment of the new Central Government of China, shall be done on the following basis, and its concrete matters shall be decided separately.

(1) Basic matters to be adjusted and agreed upon for setting up the new relations between Japan and China shall be generally as follows:

(A) Utilization and development of natural resources in North China.

(B) The recognition of the highly cooperative zones by Japan and China in North China and the lower Yangtze River. The establishment of a special position against the Soviet Union in Mongolian-Hsing-Kiang area. The establishment of a special position on the various islands along the coast of South China.

(C) The establishment of the general policy for the collaboration among Japan, Manchukuo and China based upon reciprocity, particularly on neighborly friendship and goodwill, anti-Comintern and joint-defense and economic cooperation. In order to attain the above objectives, Japan will give internal guidance during a certain period.

(2) The basis for the internal guidance is given on attached sheet No. 1, captioned as "The General Plan for the Internal Guidance of the Government of China."

### 3. The Organization and the Function of the Joint Commission

I The organization of the Joint Commission by the Provisional and the Restoration Governments and the Mongolian Hsing-Kiang Joint Commission (to be called "The Joint Commission" hereafter) shall be roughly as follows:

- (1) The Joint Commission shall be of a plain committee system, having the representatives of the Provisional and the Restoration Governments and the Mongolian-Hsing-Kiang Joint Commission as its members, located in Peking for the time being.
- (2) For the most part, the boundary of each local regime shall be left as they are at present for the time being.
- (3) Each of the local regimes as North China, Central China and Mongolian-Hsing-Kiang shall be to a high grade self-governing adaptable to its special local characteristics.
- (4) The limits of the authorities to be given to the Joint Commission and the local regimes shall be studied separately, based upon the principle in the preceding paragraph. Transportation, communication, postal service, finance, customs, national tax, administration over salt, and plans for thought and education which are common to all governments shall be administered by the local regimes under the necessary supervision by the Joint Commission.
- (5) The maintenance of public peace and order shall be placed under the charge of the local governments, subject to the control of the Joint Commission.
- (6) Regarding the diplomatic affairs, the Joint Commission shall be authorized to look after the common matters while the local questions shall be dealt with by the respective local regimes.

(Attached Sheet)

The general Plan for Internal Guidance of the Chinese Government.

Japan's internal guidance of the Chinese Government is directed to contribute to settle the present Incident, to promote the cooperation between the Japanese and the Chinese, to establish inseparable friendly relations between Japan and Manchukuo, and at the same time to contribute to our national defense policy.

For this purpose, we should save the present situation from the current anti-Japanese sentiments even if by force. Also, we should win the hearts of the people by improving their economic conditions, establish the guiding principle through restoring Oriental culture, and with mercy and dignity stimulate the whole Han race to voluntarily cooperate with us.

Outline

I Military Affairs

- (1) We will urge the surrender of the Chinese Army, conciliate them, and bring them under control. We will strive to make them support the new

government by promoting their anti-CHIANG Kai-shek and anti-Communist consciousness, and making as many Chinese troops as possible cooperate with the Japanese Army for destruction of the anti-Japanese and pro-Communist Army, and thus guide the racial conflict toward an ideological opposition.

(2) The necessary Japanese troops will be stationed at ports, railways, waterways, etc., in the occupied areas which are strategic for communication, as well as at the locations of important resources; and in remote districts armed Chinese troops will be organized to ensure the preservation of peace. The numerical strength of the troops will be decided in accordance with the actual local situation.

(3) We will conclude an anti-Communist Military Alliance and gradually reorganize the Chinese Army to place it under the direction of the Japanese Army. When the circumstances permit, we will reduce our military strength to the minimum necessary for our national defense.

## II Administration and Foreign Relations.

(1) Under the confederated commission or the new Central Government, local governments will be organized in North China, Central China, Mongolia and Hsing-Kiang, etc. to suit the peculiar characters of each regime. We will give them wide powers of self-government, and have them govern themselves separately and cooperate with each other.

(2) The officials below the level of the key officials in the various governments shall be Chinese, but according to necessity a few Japanese advisers will be placed in important positions or Japanese officials will be employed so as to facilitate the internal guidance.

(3) The local governments shall make efforts to overthrow and destroy the anti-Japanese and pro-Communist Government and especially scheme to conciliate the anti-CHIANG Kai-shek and anti-Communist elements, so as to aggravate their internal troubles.

(4) As to the foreign relations, the local governments shall, in general, follow our foreign policy and conclude an anti-Comintern Pact.

## III Economy, Communication and Relief.

(1) The development of the economy and communication will contribute to the establishment of the national defense of Japan, Manchukuo and China, and satisfy the development of the economy of the three countries and the welfare of its people. Japan especially will materially hold the necessary transportation. In North China the demand for national defense shall be the first consideration, and in Central and South China the interests of the people will be particularly considered.

(2) We shall carry out the development of economy following the principle of ministering to each other's wants among Japan, Manchukuo



and China and advance energetically for the accomplishment of the three countries' economic sphere. However, we shall respect the rights and interests, already obtained by the third countries, and not interfere with their participation in the economic development.

(3) Railway, water transport, aviation and communication will be materially placed under Japan's power, and satisfy the accomplishment of military activities and contribute to the welfare of the people.

(4) We shall tempt the existing plutocrats with profit and have them cooperate with the local governments.

(5) //T.N. The whole text is crossed out.// Marginal Remarks:  
"Eliminated 22/7"

(6) We will promote agriculture, start river conservancy and civil engineering, and thus improve the living of the common people. Especially during the Incident, we will make it our emergency duty to smoothen, for the time being, the distribution of food and then carry out the necessary relief work with emphasis on the reconstruction /of China/.

#### IV Culture, Religion and Education.

(1) We will respect the culture proper to the Han race, especially that common to Japan and China, revise the spiritual civilization thoroughly prohibit anti-Japanese speeches and promote Sino-Japanese cooperation.

(2) We will establish the principle on which the realization of the Sino-Japanese cooperation is to be based, in order to enable the local governments to carry out their policies, and strengthen and promote the organization of the people's various associations so as to make them hot-beds for this principle.

(3) We will reject absolutely the Communist Party. The National Party shall amend the "three-people principle" so as to make it adaptable gradually to the policy of the new government.

(4) As to religion, we will grant the freedom of belief as long as it does not disturb the promotion of the Japanese-Manchukuo-Chinese cooperation.

(5) We will conciliate scholars and protect them and encourage Confucianism.

(6) We will promote practical science so as to expedite the industrial development.

NO. 5 - EMERGENCY MEASURES FOR FINANCE OF CENTRAL CHINA  
(Decided 5 July 1938)

(1) In view of the big importance of adjusting the relations with the third countries in order to make them give up their assistance to CHIANG Kai-shek, the government is ready to remove the restrictions on commercial and financial activities of foreign banks as well as foreign trading companies in the occupied districts of Central China. However, as the problem of free navigation on the Yangtze River has a great political influence on various aspects, the despatched authorities shall dispose of this problem after reporting it to the superior officials in case they touch this problem in the course of the negotiation.

(2) In view of the present drop in the value of the Chinese legal currency we will provide against its collapse by promptly establishing a bank which is practically independent from politics and will be authorized to issue new bank notes, with the object of promoting the commerce of Central China under the above mentioned preparations and cooperation of the third powers, especially Britain. When asking for the above mentioned cooperation of the third countries, we will persuade the British banks first, and if necessary, the British Government. According to circumstances, we may consider promoting it by inducing Germany and Italy. However, we will make it our policy that Japan has no fear in establishing the foundation for her development in Central China and maintain her leading position in the Central Chinese finance.

(3) We will persuade the Chinese banks and trading companies with the purport indicated in the preceding article.

REMARKS: This matter is to be carried out in accordance with the outline of the disposition mentioned on the attached sheet.

(Attached Sheet)

Outline of the Disposition of the Emergency  
Measures for Finance of Central China.  
(Decided 5 July 1938)

1. The Policy

When we actually take these financial measures we must be very careful so that they may cause neither the interference of the third countries nor bring troubles on the peace problem. We shall keep persistently our independent attitude and arrange the time and method of negotiations to our advantage.

2. Outline

(1) In conformity with the principle of the emergency financial measures of Central China, the government will immediately proceed to establish the concrete plan for the financial machinery of Central China under the collaboration between the authorities at home and at the actual place. This concrete plan shall be elastic enough to be adaptable to the outcome of the negotiation.

(2) We will regard this negotiation merely as a matter of finance and will set about it, attaching importance to unofficial negotiations between our financial authorities and those of the third countries at the actual places. However, at an opportune time, we will commence gradually the negotiations between the governments. As to the time of transferring the negotiation to the Central /Government/ in accordance with the necessity, it depends on another decision or direction by the Central /Government/. Providing for the above, the Central /Government/ makes practical preparations beforehand for disposal of this matter. For this purpose, the parties concerned at home and at the actual place should be brought into close contact in order to remove the shortcomings due to the loose control. The commercial problem concerned with this negotiation shall be very prudently dealt with not to produce an unilateral result.

(3) At this negotiation we will make efforts to first change the atmosphere of the business circles of the countries concerned at the actual places favorable to us so that their home countries (Britain, USA and others) may rightly recognize the situation. At the same time our financial circles should be guided appropriately not to make speeches unfavorable to us for this negotiation.

(4) The main object of this negotiation is Britain, but we must take every possible positive means such as to make use of USA, Germany, Italy and others as steps in the negotiation.

(5) Along with the diplomatic maneuvers against the third countries mentioned in the preceding article, we will endeavor to make the third countries change their attitude toward CHIANG Kai-shek, and try to break up the CHIANG Government and absorb the Chinese financial circle.

(6) It is of course necessary to take every care to keep this negotiation secret. All necessary preparations should be made for this negotiation, and there must be no failure or miscarriage in the course of the negotiation.

6 - SPECIAL COMMISSION FOR CHINA  
(Decided 26 July 1938)

(1) The Special Commission for China belongs to the Five Ministers' Council and is an executive organ exclusively for working out important stratagems against China and establishing the new Chinese Central Government in accordance with the decision of the Council.

(2) Every organ at the actual places concerned with the above mentioned business is directed by the Special Commission for China in connection with the said business.

(3) The Army and Navy Ministers will be in charge of the liaison between the Special Commission for China and the Imperial Headquarters.

(APPENDIX)

Interpretation of the Special Commission for China.  
(Decided 29 July 1938)

(1) Composition of the Special Commission for China in Par. 1.

The Commission is understood as an organ under the leadership of DOIHARA, TSUDA and BANZAI.

(2) The important strategems against China in Par. 1 are understood as political and economic strategies which are not directly connected with military operations.

(3) Interpretation of Par. 2.

It is understood that the Supreme Command organ is not included in the local organs. However, if there is the necessity of adjusting a certain strategem of the Supreme Command organ with that of the Commission, both will be adjusted through their channels of subordination as mentioned in Par. 3.

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No. 1

支那事變處理關係

ヨリ、起草

五相會議決定事項（昭和三八・三）

目次

- 第一、今後、支那事變指導方針
- 第二、支那現中央政府屈伏、場合、對策
- 第三、支那現中央政府、辛屈伏、場合、對策
- 第四、支那新中央政府樹立指導方針
- （別紙）支那政權內面指導方針
- 第五、中支那金融緊急方針對策
- （別紙）中支那金融緊急方針對策處理要領
- 第六、對支特別委員會
- 對支特別委員會三問之解釋、件



No. 2

Doc. # 1685-C

第一、方針

支那中央政府之成立，應以「中國」之「政權」之「復興」為其「最高」之「目的」，而「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」，亦應為其「重要」之「條件」。

第二、要領

- 一、帝國主義解決之方針，應以「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」為其「最高」之「目的」，而「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」，亦應為其「重要」之「條件」。
- 二、支那現中央政府之成立，應以「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」為其「最高」之「目的」，而「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」，亦應為其「重要」之「條件」。

- 一、支那中央政府之成立，應以「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」為其「最高」之「目的」，而「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」，亦應為其「重要」之「條件」。
- 二、支那現中央政府之成立，應以「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」為其「最高」之「目的」，而「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」，亦應為其「重要」之「條件」。
- 三、支那現中央政府之成立，應以「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」為其「最高」之「目的」，而「中國」之「統一」與「和平」之「實現」，亦應為其「重要」之「條件」。

Doc. # 1685-C

No. 3

### 第三 支那現中央政府屈伏，認定條件

- 一 合流者、ハ新中央政府樹立ニ參加スルコト
- 二 石ニ伴フ舊國民政府、改稱及改組
- 三 抗日容共政策、放棄及親日滿防共政策、採用
- 四 蔣介石、下野

### 第四 停戰

- 一 支那現中央政府、屈伏、事實ヲ認定シ得ルニ至リテハ停戰等ハ議ス
- 但シ停戰ヲ議スル場合ニ於テ、其條件ハ別ニ考究ス

支那三 支那現中央政府ニ至リテ屈伏セザル場合、対策

(昭和三八決定)

### 第一 方針

帝國ハ愈々國力ヲ統合シ作戰、内政、外交、經濟、謀略、宣傳等國家一切、努力ヲ舉ゲテ支那現中央政府、潰滅スルハ屈伏ニ集中スルト共ニ長期戦ニ應ズル項下必須、諸政策ヲ強化シ以テ形而上下ヲ通シ眞ニ戰時態勢ヲ實現ス

### 第二 要領

#### 一 要衝ニ據テ、対策

1. 支那、大勢ヲ制スルニ足ル要衝、ニ據テ目標トシテ之ヲ間隙ニカラムル如ク積極作戰ヲ指向シ連續セバ戰感殊ニ甚、中原喪失ニ依リ支那現中央政府自壞作用ト繼戰意ヲ放棄スルヲ誘導ス
2. 作戰、進展ニ伴ヒ政治、經濟、外交、思想等、各般

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No. 4

二

要衝、據後、対策

政府、孤立化、対策

要衝、占據、たゞ又、現中央政府、ニテ尚、屈伏、セサル  
トハ帝國ハ爾後、直接、試、ニ以テ常、志、ニテ事、業、解決、ニ  
焦慮、スル、ニトナリ、益々、新中央政府、據、大強化、ヲ促進、ス

4. 列國、權益、劣、ナリ、之リ、尙、尊重、ヲ好、ミテ、彼等、ノ事、ヲ  
構、ムル、カ、如キ、態度、ハ、避、ル、ニテ、強力、明快、ナル、事業、處理、  
ノ、斷行、ヲ、ヨリ、列國、ヲ、ニテ、我、對、友、政策、ヲ、事、定、メ、テ、得、  
テ、ミ、彼等、ノ、既、得、權益、ヲ、保持、増進、ニ、自、ラ、我、能、展、  
ク、又、行、ス、ル、己、ノ、得、サル、ニ、至、ラ、ニ、以、テ、又、現、中、央、  
政府、ノ、孤立化、ヲ、策、メ、

三行、ヲ

3. 親、目、諸、政、權、ヲ、大、強、化、ス、ル、ニ、成、ル、ヲ、速、ニ、是、等、  
政、權、ヲ、聚、メ、成、メ、テ、一、政、權、ニ、統合、ス、ル、ニ、進、ミ、又、現、中、央、  
政府、ニ、代、リ、新、政、權、ト、シ、テ、認、ム、カ、ニ、得、サル、ニ、至、ラ、ニ、  
帝國、ノ、新、中、央、政、權、承認、ハ、ニ、当、時、ノ、情、勢、ニ、依、ル、ニ、  
該、政、權、ガ、中、央、政府、ノ、実、ヲ、備、フ、ル、ニ、至、ラ、ハ、ル、ベ、ク、違、カ、  
三行、ヲ

一、轉、落、ヲ、期、ス

二、耳、リ、益々、謀、略、ヲ、強、化、シ、テ、親、目、反、共、諸、勢力、ヲ、助、成、  
ニ、努、ム、ル、ニ、共、ニ、抗、日、勢力、内、部、ノ、切、斷、シ、テ、和平、完、分、ノ、  
讓、成、反、財、政、經濟、甚、至、破、綻、ヲ、策、メ、テ、成、ル、ヲ、速、ニ、  
又、現、中、央、政府、ノ、分裂、崩、壞、ヲ、免、ル、局、地、政、權、  
ノ、轉、落、ヲ、期、ス

右、施、策、ハ、帝國、自、ラ、行、フ、外、特、ニ、重、要、面、的、ニ、親、目、支、那、  
諸、政、權、其、他、ヲ、指、道、シ、ミ、テ、之、ヲ、行、ハ、シ、ム

Doc. 1685-C

No. 5

ルト共ニ政治・經濟・思想的ニ支那現中央政府ヲ愈々壓  
縮スル等主トシテ政略・謀略・運営ニヨリ支那現中央政  
府ノ潰滅ヲ計ル

三 實行ノ方法ニ就テハ別ニ策定ス

第四 支那新中央政府樹立指導方策  
(昭和二三・二五決定)

第一 方針

一 支那新中央政府ハ單ニ今次事變處理ニ関スル支  
那側當事者タルニ止ラシムルコトナク日支ノ國交ヲ過去  
一切ノ相剋ヨリ脱却シテ大乗的見地ニ於テ善隣タル  
基礎ヲ確立セシムル爲メ支那國政府ヲツクム

二 支那新中央政府ノ樹立ハ主トシテ支那側ヲミテ行ハシ  
ムル帝國之ヲ内面的斡旋シ其政治形態ハ分治合作  
主義ヲ採用ス

第二 樹立要領

一 成ルベク速クニ先ツ臨時及維新兩政府協力ニテ聯合  
委員會ヲ樹立シ次ニ蒙疆聯合委員會ヲ之ニ聯合セシム  
爾後右諸政權ハ逐次諸勢力ヲ吸收又ハ之等ト協力シテ  
眞ノ中央政府ヲ聚大成セシム

二 漢口陷落シ蔣政權ハ一地方政權ニ轉落スルカ否ハ  
蔣下野・現中央政府改組ノ事態生起スル迄新中央政  
府ヲ樹立セズ

三 漢口陷落後蔣政權ニ分裂・改組等ヲ見ザル場合

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- 既成政權ヲ以テ新中央政府ヲ樹立ス
- 四、 蔣政權ニ分裂改組等ヲ見親日政權出現ニシテ場合  
之ヲ中央政府組織ニ合フニ中央政府樹立ニ進ム
- 五、 新中央政府承認時職ハ第四頁文組(合列各)政權  
ニテ停戰・塘沽宣言ヲ得タル場合若ハ第三項統一政權  
ヲ中央政府タルニ実ヲ備フルニ至ルニ場合ハ豫定ス
- 六、 及那新中央政府樹立工作ニ伴フ日支關係調整  
左記三準據之基、具體的事項ニ別ニ定ム
1. 新日支關係設定、尚調整締約ニ付キ基礎事項  
概テ左ノ如シ
- (1) 北支資源・利用同奔  
(2) 北支及揚子江下流域ニ於ケル日支強度結合地帯、  
認定(四ハ研究 繼續ス)
- 蒙疆地方、對「一特殊地位」設定  
(3) 互惠ヲ基調タル日滿又一般提携就中善隣友好  
防共共同所衛・經濟提携原則、設定
- 以テ目的ヲ達成スルニ爲所要、期同帝國・内西指導  
ヲ行フ
2. 内西指導、烏、基準別紙第一支那政權内西指  
導大綱ニ如シ
- 第三、聯合委員會、機構及組織
- 臨時維新兩政府及蒙疆聯合委員會ヨリ成ル聯合  
委員會(以下聯合委員會ト稱ス)、機構概テ左ノ如シ
1. 聯合委員會、臨時維新兩政府及蒙疆聯合委員會



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會ノ代表ヲ以テ組織スル同業セル委員制トシ差シ當リ  
北京ニ置ク

2. 各地方政權、境界ハ差シ當リ概テ現在、建設トス
3. 北支中支蒙疆等、各地方政權ニハ各其、特殊性ニ即  
應スル廣汎ナル自治ヲ行ハム
4. 聯合委員會及地方政權、權限ハ前項、趣旨ニ基キ  
別ニ研究スルモ交通、通信、郵務、金融、海關、統稅、塩  
務、文教及思想対策等、共通事項ニ關シテハ聯合委  
員會、所要、統制下ニ地方政權ヲシテ行ハムルモノトス
5. 治安維持ニ關シテハ聯合委員會統制下ニ地方政權之  
ニ當ル
6. 外交ニ關シテハ當今、同共通外交事項ハ聯合委員會、  
權限トシ局地的關係事項ハ各地方政權ヲシテ處理ス

支那政權内面指導大綱(昭和一二・一七・一九決定)

## 方針

帝國、支那政權内面指導ノ目標ハ現存ノ解決ニ裨益スルヲ共ニ  
日支兩民族ノ提携ヲ促進シ日滿兩國ノ不可分の善隣關係ヲ確立ス  
相佐テ我國國防國策ニ投合スルヲ以テ之ヲ爲シ抗日中心國滿蒙ニ  
ル現狀ニ對シハ威カヲ背景トシテ局面ヲ打開スルヲ共ニ國民經濟  
ヲ向上シテ人ルヲ收攬シ東洋文化ヲ發達シテ指導ヲ精粹ヲ確立シ  
因威併ニ用テ一般漢民族ノ自發的協力ヲ促進ス

## 要領

## 第一 軍事

一、支那軍ノ投降ヲ促進シテ之ヲ懷柔歸順セシムト共ニ其ノ反將  
反共意識ヲ暢達シ新政權ヲ支持シ成ルベク多數ノ支那軍  
ヲ以テ抗日容共軍潰滅ノ爲日本軍ニ協力セシムルヲ努メ以テ  
民族の相剋ヲ主義的對立ニ誘導ス

二、我占領地ノ海港及鐵道水路等交通ノ要衝並主要資源  
ノ所在地等必要ノ地點ニ所要ノ日本軍ヲ駐屯シ僻陋地方ニハ  
支那武裝團體ヲ組織シ治安ノ確保ニ當ラシム其ノ兵力量ハ  
各地ノ實情ニ適合セシムルヲ決定ス

三、防共軍事同盟ヲ締結シテ日本軍ノ指導下ニ漸次軍隊ヲ改  
編シ情勢之ヲ許スニ至ル國防上必要ナル最限度ニ敵兵ス

## 第二 政治及外交

一、聯合委員會若クハ新中央政府ノ下ニ北支中支蒙疆等各地  
域毎ニ其ノ特殊性ニ即應スル地方政權ヲ組織シ廣汎ナル自治  
權ヲ與ヘテ分治合作ヲ行ハシム

6-5-9

經濟及交通，開發，日滿及三國國防，確立三邊互不侵犯之  
國經濟發展並三民衆，存立遺傳，特所專人，  
通入帝國之，實效的，把握，就中北又一，六國防上，  
可要，我，中，又，於，六，民衆，利益，特，所，屬，心，

五、農事ヲ振興シ治水土木ヲ興シ一般民衆生活ヲ向上シ特ニ  
 貧民中ハ差當リ食糧配分ヲ圓滑ナラシムルコトヲ以テ急務  
 ナル次ヲ復興ヲ主眼トスル所ニテ救済事業ヲ行フ

一、漢民族固有文化就中日是共通，文化尊重，尊重東洋精神  
文明之復活，抗日之言論，徹底藝術，日本之宣傳，日本之宣傳



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四、帝國、中央銀行、發給權、以上、不、安、た、る、を、帝國  
中央、金融、上、指、導、的、の、爲、に、保、持、し、て、之、を、建、前、と、し、て、  
三、五、兩、側、銀、行、並、高、正、二、對、し、て、前、記、二、ノ、趣、旨、ヲ、以、テ、  
之、を、之、と、ス、

○備考 本件實施、即、就、處、理、を、領、二、依、り、



11.11

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中支金融緊急対策處理要領(第三案)決定

(附註)

才一、方針  
本金融対策、災荒ニ當リ、才三國側、干渉ヲ誘致スルニ及  
和平問題ニ就テハ、或ハ銳ヲ進メ、或ハ緩メテ、堅持シ  
時ニ本交渉ノ時期ヲ有シ、我々有利ナルニ如ク施  
策スルベシ

才二、要領

一、政府、中支金融緊急対策方針ニ則リ、内地及現地協  
力、土直十中支金融機構、具體策ヲ樹立スルヲ又  
在旦ニ解決シ、本件交渉、結果ニ適從シ得ルカヲ適宜  
弾力性ニ示ス

二、本件交渉、單ニ金融上ノ問題トシテ、現地ニ於テ我  
及才三國側金融擔送者間ニ於テハ、非但ハ折衝ニ重  
実ヲ置キ、始メトシテ、漸進ニ對機到來ヲ俟テ漸次破  
府間交渉ヲ開始スルニ志ス、必要ニ應ジ、中支交渉  
ニ補行スル財成ヲ行フニ別ニ中央、減額指示スル所ニ豫必  
セズ

三、備へ中支金融ニ對シ、事件處理、災重ノ準備ヲ整  
之ヲ為現地並内地ニ於テ關係者、連絡ヲ密ニ不  
統利ニ至リ、誠實、排除ニ努ム  
季交渉ニ關聯ス、連向問題、取扱、特ニ慎重ヲ期シ  
片語の結果ニ終ラシムルベシ

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- 三、本交渉を遂行するに於て、現地に於ける相子国農業界等、空しく我々方ニ有利なる如く展開せしめ、其、本國（粟米等）ヲシテ事能く正當に認識せしむるコトニ努むル同時ニ我々、財界等ニ対シテ、本件交渉上尙モ我々方ニ不利なる如き言説ヲ用ひしメサル様適宜指導ス
- 四、交渉ノ主目標、英國ニ存スルモノ之ヲ手段トシテ米、蠶、伊等ヲ利用スル等アル積極的手段ヲ講スルモノトス
- 五、前項ノ事三国ニ對シテ外交工作ト所行シテ三国ノ對英政權態度、是正將政權、切實ニ並ニ支那財界、吸引ニ努ムモノトス
- 六、本件交渉、秘密保持方ニ付テ、全幅、注意ヲ拂フ要アルハ勿論本交渉ニ必要ナル陣容ヲ整備シ、交渉上苟モ缺陷齟齬ナキヲ期スルモノトス

### 才二、對支特別委員會（昭和三七、二、二決定）

- 一、對支特別委員會ハ五相會議ニ屬シ、其、決定ニ基キ專ラ重要ナル對支課略並新支那中央政府樹立ニ関スル實行、機關トス
- 二、前項業務ニ關係スル現地各機關、該業務ニ關シテ、對支特別委員會ノ已處ラズアルモノトス
- 三、對支特別委員會ト本年官上ノ連絡、陸海軍大臣之ニ任ス

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(附)

- 一、才一項、対支特別委員会ニ関スル解新、件(昭和三十七、三十八、三十九)
- 一、才一項、土肥原、津田、坂西ヲ中心トシタル、滅閑ト解又
- 一、才一項、重要ナル対支謀略ト
- 政治及経済ニ関スル謀略ニテ直接作戦ニ関係正モラ含ミサ
- 義ト解又
- 一、才二項ニ関スル見解
- 現地機関ニ統帥機関ヲ含メサル義ト解又
- 但ニ統帥機関、擔任スル略事業詔中本委員会、俾
- 略事業ヲ同ニ調整ヲ要スルモノナルトモ、才三項ニ依リ各
- 其ノ隸屬系統ヲ經テ調整ヲ行フ義ト解又

## OUTLINE TO GUIDE THE CENTRAL POLITICAL CONFERENCE

1 November 1939  
Decided by Conference of China  
Affairs Board.

## I. PRINCIPLES

In view of the development of situations at home and abroad, the policy to establish a new Central Government shall have as its main aim the perfection of the inner basic conditions of China, and, as an aim of next importance, the policies toward the Third Powers and Chungking. Moreover, in response to the over-all preparation of the Imperial Government, in accordance with the independent viewpoint of the Empire, the construction and the time of the establishment of the new Central Government shall be thus decided. In the case of the Central Political Conference, it shall be so directed, with primary importance attached to the consideration outlined above and main emphasis placed on the (Chinese) internal political matters.

## II. CARDINAL POINTS

1. Concerning the Central Political Conference, the main component people of the new Central Government shall first be made to understand the matters desired and demanded by our side as specified hereunder. The Conferences shall be so directed that there shall be no conflict between the above and what will be resolved by the Chinese side.
2. At the Central Political Conference, the project to establish the Central Government shall be established as in Appendix I "Outline Concerning the Establishment of the Central Government".
3. The emphasis of the Chinese side shall be to complete the preparations for the replenishment of man power and the acquirement of basic power, with regard to the establishment of a base-area, the policy against Chungking, the organization of armed forces, and the preparation of funds. The particular emphasis shall be the destruction and undermining of the various powers of the Chungking side. Efforts shall be directed to the above purposes with WANG as the central figure and the full cooperation of WU and the existing regimes.
4. The formation and the time of the establishment of the new Central Government shall be decided according to the progress of the above-mentioned works of preparation, as well as the consideration of the situation as a whole, after consultation with the Japanese side. This must be strictly observed.
5. The political creed and the policies of the new Central Government shall include the principles for the re-adjustment of the new relationship between Japan and China, the necessary recognition of existing facts, as well as the desires of the Japanese side. It shall include nothing that will contradict the above.

6. The name of the new Central Government, the Capitol, and the National Flag (the name of the government: National Government; capitol: Nanking; national flag: blue-sky-white-sun flag) shall be in accordance with the fixed policy.

7. Concerning the abolition of the names of the existing governments, and concerning the local institutions and the degree of local self-government, necessary arrangements shall be made in accordance with Appendix II: "Outline of Adjustment of Relationship between the New Central Government and the existing Regimes" and an understanding of the desires of our side.

8. Concerning the adjustment of the new relationship between Japan and China, after the formation of the Central Government and before the establishment of the new Central Government, the leading figures of the said Government shall make a firm pledge to the Japanese side. The important points of the said pledge are expected to be called "Matters before the Establishment of the New Central Government to be Pledged by its Principal Components Toward Japan."

For the purpose of the above-mentioned pledge, the guiding organ on the spot shall gradually conduct an inner guidance which is necessary beforehand toward the leading figures. Before the Central Political Conference, their understanding of the essence of the above shall be secured.

However, as to the specified items of the above pledge (Items 3 and 4 of Point II in Appendix IV), the time to show them to the Chinese side and the exact clarification of the specified items shall be decided after the liaison between the authorities on the spot and the central authorities.

9. With regard to the relationship with the Third Powers, insofar as the aim is the promotion of the common welfare of Japan, Manchukuo, China and the Third Powers as well, the Third Powers shall be made to recognize the existence of the special conditions during the Incident; whereas, with the settling of the conditions, in respecting the interests of the Third Powers, the policy shall be to make for them gradually certain reasonable adjustments in accordance with the new situation.

APPENDIX I (To be decided at the Central Political Conference)  
OUTLINE CONCERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

1. The new Central Government shall be formed by the National Party, the existing regimes, other political parties and, if possible, the Chungking Government after re-consideration and reformation, etc. The new Central Government shall be established by the appropriate cooperation of the above.



2. To strengthen the foundation of the new Central Government, every concrete effort shall be directed, in collaboration with the Japanese side, to the achievement in securing manpower and basic power (armed force and financial power.)

To secure the important elements of the Chungking Government, no effort shall be spared, with WANG Ching-Wei as the center and through the cooperation of the various parties and factions.

3. Since the new Central Government shall formally adjust the diplomatic relationship between Japan and China, in accordance with the principle of readjusting the new relationship between Japan and China, representatives of the components of the said Government shall negotiate with Japan, before the establishment of the said Government, as to the principal matters of adjustments in the new relationship between Japan and China.

4. The Chungking Government shall be approved as having reconsidered and reformed, if it abandons the policy of anti-Japanese and pro-Communism, makes necessary reshuffle in its personnel, and recognizes Items 1 and 3 above mentioned.

APPENDIX 2 (as demanded by our side and to be understood, and for which necessary measures are to be undertaken, concerning the Central Political Conference)

OUTLINE OF ADJUSTMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NEW CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE EXISTING REGIMES.

(1) Outline of Adjustment of the Relationship between the Mongolia Federated Autonomous Government and the new Central Government.

1. In order to fix the new relationship between the Mongolia Federated Autonomous Government and the new Central Government, WANG Ching-wei or his representative and Prince Teh or his representative shall meet at Peking or Tsingtao, before convening the Central Political Council under the guidance of the Japanese side, and shall agree on the following matters in the form of a formal document:

A. The new Central Government shall recognize the existing status of a high degree of anti-Communist autonomy of the Mongolia Autonomous Government.

B. The adjustment of the relationship between the two regimes shall, after the establishment of the new Central Government, be otherwise formally agreed upon, in accordance with the present understanding.

2. After reaching the above understanding, the Mongolia Federated Autonomous Government shall send its representatives to the Central Political Conference.

However, the Central Political Conference shall not discuss anything with regard to the Mongolia Autonomous Government outside the scope of the above understanding.

(2) Outline of Adjustment of the Relationship between the Provisional Government and the new Central Government.



1. With the view that North China has its special characteristics as the zone strongly linked up with Japan and Manchukuo both in national defense and in economics, and in accordance with the principle of adjusting the new relationships between Japan and China, for the purpose of making local and separate arrangements vis-a-vis Japan and Manchukuo, there shall be established in North China, under the Central Government, a North China Political Council (a provisional term and used hereafter) and an organ in charge of military affairs.

2. The relation between the North China Political Council and the new Central Government, the composition and the jurisdiction of the North China Political Council, the relation between the North China Political Council and the organ in charge of the military affairs, and the composition of the organ in charge of the military affairs, so far as the concrete matters are concerned, shall be decided through consultation at the Central Political Conference. However, prior to the establishment of the new Central Government, a general arrangement shall be made between the Provisional Government and the representatives of the new Central Government.

3. During the interval when the Provisional Government abolishes its title of Government and is being taken over by the North China Political Council, necessary steps shall be undertaken to take over the existing conditions without causing any interruption, delay, or weakening in political administration; nor causing any disturbance to the functions and credits in the economic field, or any general unrest or weakening.

(3) Outline of Adjustment of the Relationship between the Renovation Government and the new Central Government.

1. With due respect to the position of the Renovation Government and to avoid any disturbance to it, the New Central Government shall lead to combine with the Renovation Government, and until the establishment of the new Central Government, the Renovation Government shall continue to be in charge of political affairs.

2. The Renovation Government shall be persuaded not to establish a Political Council after the establishment of the new Central Government, whereas the honor and the positions of the leading persons in the Renovation Government shall be duly considered by WANG Ching-wei.

3. During the interval between the establishment of the new Central Government and the dissolving of the Renovation Government, the new Central Government shall take necessary steps to take over the existing situation by gradual readjustment without causing any interruption, delay or weakening in political administration; nor causing any disturbance to the functions and credits in the economic field, or any general unrest or weakening.

4. In accordance with the principle of readjusting the new relationship between Japan and China, and in order to expedite the realization of a strong economic union between Japan and China in the Lower Yangtze reaches area, necessary measures shall be undertaken in the administrative set-up in new Shanghai, with the main point on the matters of cooperation between Japan and China.

(4) Other Matters

1. The special administrative areas of Shanghai, Tsingtao and Amoy shall be recognized as a fact.

2. On specified islands along the coast of south China, especially Hainan Island, local administrations (including organs in charge of military affairs) under the direct control of the Central Government shall be established.

APPENDIX III PLAN TO GUIDE THE NEW CHINA LOCAL POLITICAL FORMS

(1) Policy

The new China local political forms, aside from the provisions contained in Appendix II "Outline of Adjustment of the Relationship between the new Central Government and the Existing Regimes", shall follow the inside guidance on the following cardinal points.

(2) Cardinal Points

1. Mongolian Border

The administration, legislation, judicial affairs, military affairs, and the negotiations with Outer Mongolia, with the exception of diplomatic relations, of the Mongolian Border (generally speaking, the area north of the line of the Inner Great Wall, inclusive) shall be conducted on the basis of the existing facts, with the recognition of its comprehensive autonomy as an area of high degree autonomy and anti-Communism.

2. North China

A. Area

Generally speaking, North China is taken to be the area formed by the Province of Hopeh and Shansi, south of the line of the Inner Great Wall, excluding that line, and the Province of Shantung, and the Province of Honan north of the Yellow River.

B. The limit of the Japanese demands as to the political form in North China is as follows:

(i) The Chinese side shall establish the North China Political Council (a provisional term) and an organ in charge of military affairs and shall delegate to the above two organs the necessary jurisdictions in order to enable them to deal with local matters vis-a-vis Japan, Manchukuo and the Mongolian Border Federated Autonomous Government

within the scope defined in the following item, in accordance with the principles concerning the adjustment of the new relationship between Japan and China.

(ii) The following matters are within the scope to be dealt with locally in North China:

a. Matters concerning common defense, particularly anti-Communism and cooperation to maintain order in North China:

- 1- To deal with matters arising from the garrison of Japanese forces.
- 2- To deal with matters necessitated by the cooperation between Japan and China on anti-Communism and maintenance of order.
- 3- To deal with other matters of military cooperation between Japan and China.

b. Matters concerning economic collaboration, particularly the exploitation of underground resources in North China and the supply of materials needed by Japan, Manchukuo and North China.

- 4- To deal with matters to provide the Japanese side with special facilities on underground resources.
- 5- To deal with matters to rationalize the supply of materials needed by Japan, Manchukuo, Mongolian Border and North China.
- 6- To deal with matters of cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo, Mongolian Border, and North China on currencies and exchanges.
- 7- To deal with matters of cooperation between Japan and China on aviation, railways, communication and principal maritime transportation.

c. Other matters

- 8- To deal with matters of employing Japanese advisers and Japanese as officials.

(iii) For military cooperation and economic collaboration in North China between Japan and China, the Central Government shall recognize the necessity to maintain the Federal Banking System and other correlated systems in North China and shall give the above the necessary supports.

(NOTE: The above limit of the Japanese demands shall be applied after the new relation between Japan and China has been properly adjusted.)

C. The composition and the jurisdiction of the North China Political Council shall be gradually adjusted with reference to the necessary degree of realization of the demands of the Japanese side as defined in the preceding item (B), whereas the present condition shall be maintained

during the interval.

Principal matters to be regulated for the time being between the North China Political Council and the Central Government shall be as follows:

- (i) Necessary measures shall be undertaken to secure essential income to cover the necessary expenditures of the North China Political Council. For this purpose, although custom revenues, salt revenues and consolidated taxes are the national revenues of the Central Government, yet, for the time being, a certain percentage of the surplus custom revenues, surplus salt revenues, and consolidated taxes shall belong to the North China Political Council. Moreover, the supervision of the organs in charge of the above-mentioned national revenues shall be delegated by the Central Government to the North China Political Council.
- (ii) The Government properties as at present shall belong to the North China Political Council.
- (iii) The custom, postal service and aviation shall be unified under the control of the new Central Government, yet the conversion from the present condition shall be effected gradually.
- (iv) The North China Political Council shall have, to certain extent, the right to raise loans.
- 8 (v) With the exception of the rank appointed by special order, the North China Political Council shall have the right to appoint its own personnel.
- (vi) The management of the Lung-hai Railway shall belong to the North China Political Council.
- (vii) Diplomatic negotiations shall be undertaken by the Central Government whereas the local negotiations of matters concerning Japan and Manchukuo shall be undertaken by the North China political Council.  
Also, negotiation to dispose of matters locally with the Mongolian Border shall be undertaken by the North China Political Council.

3. Central China (new Shanghai and the lower reaches of Yangtze)

A. The new Central Government shall succeed the Renovation Government in matters concerning the materialization of the strong economic union between Japan and China in central China.

B. With regard to New Shanghai, the limit of the demands of the Japanese side is as follows:



- (i) The following matters shall be undertaken by the cooperation between Japan and China in New Shanghai:
  - 1- Matters concerning the reconstruction of New Shanghai
  - 2- Matters to be disposed of in New Shanghai with regard to the garrison of the Japanese Army.
  - 3- Matters of cooperation to be disposed of in New Shanghai with regard to aviation, principal maritime transportation, navigation of the Yangtze River and communication.
  - 4- Other general matters of cooperation between Japan and China to be disposed of in New Shanghai.
- (ii) The Chinese side shall make necessary arrangements in the administration of New Shanghai to expedite the realization of the matters under the cooperation of Japan and China as listed in the preceding item, in accordance with the various principles of the adjustment of the new relation between Japan and China.
- (iii) To realize the set-up of a strong economic union of Japan and China in the area of the low reaches of Yangtze River, necessary measures shall be undertaken to set up an organ of economic consultation between Japan and China.

#### 4. Amoy

With regard to Amoy, the fact of its being a special administrative area shall be recognized.

#### 5. Hainan Island

A local administrative organ (together with organ in charge of military affairs) shall be set up in Hainan Island under the direct control of the Central Government. The following matters, basing upon the special position of Japan in Hainan Island, shall be demanded and disposed of:

- (i) Matters concerning the garrison of the Japanese Army.
- (ii) Matters concerning the cooperation between Japan and China on military affairs and maintenance of order.
- (iii) Matters to secure the special resources necessary for national defense.
- (iv) Matters relating to aviation, communication and maritime transportation.

APPENDIX IV (to be pledged, before the establishment of the New Central Government, by its components toward Japan)

MATTERS TO BE PLEDGED, BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, BY ITS PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS TOWARD JAPAN. (Plan)

(NOTE: This plan is required to be approved by the Emperor at the Imperial Conference or at least through the petition of the Prime Minister)

## I. POLICY

The principal components of the New Central Government, prior to its establishment and after the Central Political Conference, shall pledge to the following cardinal items as a basis for the adjustment of the new diplomatic relations between Japan and China, after the establishment of the New Central Government.

## II. CARDINAL ITEMS

1. The Governments of Japan and China shall adjust their new diplomatic relations on the basis of the Principles Concerning the Adjustment of the New Relation Between Japan and China.

2. Recognition shall be given to the existence of the facts already established during the Incident and before the resumption of the new diplomatic relationship; whereas the status quo shall be gradually adjusted according to the above-mentioned Principles, so far as the conditions permit.

3. During the continuation of the Incident, the continuation of the special situations necessary to meet the natural demands as resulted from such shall be recognized.

The special situations above-mentioned, with the change of the conditions and even with the settlement of the Incident, shall be gradually adjusted in accordance with the Principles Concerning the Adjustment of the New Relation Between Japan and China.

### ATTACHED PAPER: PRINCIPLE CONCERNING THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE NEW RELATION BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

Japan and China, and Manchukuo, under the ideal of constructing a new order in East Asia, shall unite as friendly neighbors to each other to form the axis of the peace in the Orient. For this common aim, the following items shall be the basis:

1. The general collaboration among Japan, Manchukuo and China on the basis of reciprocity shall be established with good neighbor and friendly relation, common defense against communism and economic cooperation as the main principles.

2. In North China and Mongolian Border, an area of strong union between Japan and China for national defense and economy shall be established.



Mongolian Border, aside from the preceding provisions, shall be especially established as a special area both militarily and politically for the purpose of anti-communism.

3. The lower reaches of Yangtze shall be established as an area of strong economic union between Japan and China.

4. Special status will be established on specified islands along the South China Coast.

5. The concrete matters of the above items shall be undertaken on the basis of the Key Points as contained in another attached paper.